

E 666

16863

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



00001734659

National Union Executive Committee.

SPEECH

OF

HON. S. S. COX,

BEFORE THE

Johnson Union Club of the 6th Congressional District, New
York, on the 9th of August, 1866.

The Hall of the Johnson Democratic Union Association, at 206 Eighth Avenue, was completely filled last night, by a highly entertained audience, to listen to an address upon the work and infamies of the late Rump Congress.

At 8 o'clock Mr. Andrew D. Hoagland, having been elected chairman, arose and said:

SPEECH OF MR. HOAGLAND.

GENTLEMEN AND FELLOW-UNIONISTS: This is but the first of a series of Union meetings to be held in this place during the ensuing campaign, and to be addressed by able and eloquent speakers. (Applause.) I sincerely thank you for the honorable position to which you have assigned me, and esteem it unnecessary to state the object of our coming together. You are all aware of that, and will be addressed, in language eloquent, able, and exhaustive, upon the deeds and misdeeds of the late infamous Rump, by the gentleman whom I have the pleasure of introducing to you, the Hon. S. S. Cox. (Loud cheers.)

SPEECH OF HON. S. S. COX.

The first session of the Thirty-ninth Congress has ended. The best thing it did was to die. (Laughter.) Not altogether lovely in its life, its death was its chief merit. Posterity will remember with gratitude that spark of patriotism which led it to—the tomb. But it is not altogether dead. *Non omnis moriar.* It survives in the memories of men and in 5,000 pages of Congressional *Globes*! (Laughter.) Upon five volumes of immortal type, piled quarto upon quarto, sits, as on a sublime pedestal of talk, this American Rump! (Laughter.) It is, therefore, monumental! Let me lay my *immortelles* on its tomb. Nero had his friend, and his affection, after death, has a historic fragrance. I would lay my little forget-me-not at the shrine of this congregation of petty Neros. (Laughter.) My sadness is very similar to that of the minister who was requested to preach the funeral of a very bad young man. After giving his characteristics, he ordered the body removed, while the choir sang the hymn:

"With rapture we, delight to see,
This wicked one removed!"

(Great laughter.)

True, this Congress was not a symmetric body. It was a Rump. It was misbegotten and mis-shapen. But it was all ours. The mother loves more dearly her deformed offspring. True, it was not angelic in disposition. It had in its nature more temper than reason; more wickedness and less love; more gall and less milk. But true charity condones for such infirmities in a rickety organism. (Laughter.)

Its composition, motives, and acts were incongruous and extraordinary. Before reviewing them, let me tell you what the Thirty-ninth Congress should have been. The war had ceased. Its object, the restoration of federal authority, was achieved! The serpent of secession had been thrown from the national breast, where it had been coiling for four years: and the good men of the land were pouring balm into the half-healed wounds. It was under these peaceful omens that this Congress met.

By the law of the 4th of March, 1862, it was declared that after the 3d of March, 1863, "the number of members of the House Representatives of the Congress of the United States should be 241." Could this law, passed since the war, be carried out after peace came? Why not? It was as much of a law as that which gave to the Clerk of the House the right to ignore States in making his roll. It remained unrepealed. The 241 members never all took their seats. Only a fraction secured them. Hence it is called a Ramp. To make up this number of 241, Virginia was allowed 8; Tennessee, 8; Georgia, 7; North Carolina, 7; South Carolina, 4; Arkansas, 3; Louisiana, 5; Mississippi, 5; Alabama, 6; Florida, 1; and Texas, 4. Here were 58 members ready to sit in the Federal Legislature. They were anxious to serve the interests of great peoples to be affected by its legislation. Two Senators were ready, or soon would have been, to represent each of these eleven States. They were not excluded for disloyalty; for no inquiry was condescended upon that point of qualification. Nevada, California, Oregon—far distant and newly-made States, linked to us by no historic associations—only by their shining ores and grand adventures—these were represented; but, on the call of the roll, fifty-eight members and twenty-two Senators, from States full of all revolutionary and fraternal memories and anxious to be imbound again in the same destiny, were debarred. If these eleven States were in the Union on the 4th of March, 1862, when the Republicans passed the law fixing the number of members—why were they not on the 4th of December, 1865, when, sitting under the painted escutcheons of the States in our Capitol halls, twenty-five usurped the rights of thirty-six? (Cheers.) Those gilded and colored ceilings, each pannel of which framing the emblem of a State sovereignty, but all irradiate with the lustre of a common central orb glowing through them upon the hall beneath, should have been a far more significant appeal for representation than even the empty seats of the fifty-eight members or the vacant chairs of twenty-two absent Senators. Why was this? History will in vain strive to answer, until she brings her microscopic ken to bear upon the partisan *infusoria* which have wriggled their hour in this Congressional element. In the analysis of this singular unrepresentative body, where one-third of the States were not, I propose first to glance at the men and then at the measures of this Congress.

1. As to the men: they are classed as partisans. Over two-thirds in each House were of the Republican party, and known as Radicals. With the exception of three, and perhaps four, of the Republican members from the North, there was nearly always concert of action and votes among these two-thirds. In the Senate there were Cowan, Dixon, Doolittle, and Norton

Who, amid the reign of error,
 Dared sublimely to be true.

They stood undaunted among their vindictive brothers, holding up the hands of the President in his patriotic efforts to enkindle love and inspire patriotism.

The party ascendant were led in the Senate by men of the French revolutionary type, like Robespierre, the Incorruptible, and Camille Desmoulins, "the Attorney-General of the lamp-post." They were full of the theories which they illustrated in "bloody instructions." They lacked the courage of Marat, Danton, and Mirabeau, and the purity of the Girondist chiefs. Sumner, Tressenden, and Wade furnish types of the dominant Radical, while Stevens, Boutwell,

Bingham, Washburne, Wilson, Dawes, Colfax, and Wentworth, furnish samples of the unconscionable, vindictive, incongruous, pietistic parliamentarians, who, without heeding the warnings of history, the sanctions of law, or the interests of Union, pursued their course, for party success, regardless of their country's needs. (Cheers.)

But the ruling spirit of these Jacobins was Thaddeus Stevens. He is a man of iron will, strong convictions, untailing sarcasm, and vindictive feeling. His familiar speeches consist in references to the abodes of the damned, as if familiar with their ruler. He has been likened to that prince. But he resembles not the Satan of Milton, whose sublime courage we respect, and whose intellect we admire. Nor the Mephistopheles of Goethe, whose insidious disguises and tempting lures led German scholars like Faust, and lovely Gretchen, like Margaret—to ruin. Rather he resembles the Devil of Dante, who is represented as a three-faced devil: one face red with anger, one pale with envy, and the third black with vengeance; having three mouths.

And at every mouth he hath a silver champed.

After which, he swallowed his colleagues in diabolic glee. (Laughter.) This was the Genius who presided over the Junta of Fifteen, and gave impression to the misdeeds of the Thirty-ninth Congress!

The minority, led by such constitutional statesmen as Reverdy Johnson and Hendricks, had but little opportunity to challenge these champions to a debate. By lung force, by previous questions, by expulsion of the minority members, Voorhies, Corcath, Baldwin and Brooks—following the sad and bad example of the Senate in expelling the truly honorable Senator from New Jersey, to gain a two-thirds majority to cripple and thwart the President—this majority illustrated the cowardice of the bully, and made its legislation the counterpart of that generous spirit which strikes the fallen foe.

2. From the composition of the body, you might well infer its legislation. Reveling in the spirit of warfare perpetual, breathing bitterness instead of brotherhood, giving reprimands for reconciliation, and penalties for pardon—(cheers)—but once, before its session began, crossed swords with the humane and generous policy of the President. From this spirit, one might think St. James had this Congress in his mind when he said, "From who come wars and fighting among you? Come they not hence even of your lusts that war in your members?" (Laughter.) Referring particularly to Mr. Stevens, he warns them: "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you. Cleanse your hands, ye sinners, and purify your hearts, ye double minded!" Referring to their conduct toward the South: "He that speaketh evil of his brother speaketh evil of the law." Predicting their fate, he says: "What is your life? It is even a vapor that appeareth for a little time and then vanisheth away!" This body began its whole career in a bid for enemies of oligarchy to foil the President's good work and circumvent his plans. Determined to keep out the eleven States, it reckoned not of the commerce, industry, and happiness of the people. By its fruits let it be judged! Men do not gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. Patriotism is not born of sectional asperities, nor does healing come from the poisoned point in the brigand's hands! Let me pluck some of the fruit of this Congress; whether it suit your taste or not, you have to pay for the planting and nurture.

From the 4th of December to the last of July, there has been offered by the Radical, constitutional amendments, forty-five; bills and resolutions for keeping up slavery, seventy-three; bills and resolutions as to the negro exclusively, forty-nine. That there were not all passed, is no credit of the Congress; but proceeds from the feebleness of intellect, which could not frame coherent parts of the system of destruction and vengeance they designed. More than two thousand pages of the *Globe* are taken up with discussions about the negro question of

suffrage and representation alone. So common became this negro-mania that the galleries were thronged with ignorant Africans, hoping for the most impossible Utopias from these *soi-distant amis des noirs* ; and a member from Illinois moved to set apart one day of the week as a "white man's day." (Laughter.)

The measureless absurdity of these lovers of hate can find its parallel only in the brutality of their treatment of the President. He was of their own creation. They found him following the paths of his predecessor. Mr. Lincoln had, on the 8th of December, 1863, recognized and urged the rebel States to restoration, beginning the work in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Andrew Johnson was ready to adapt to peace the policy of peace which Mr. Lincoln had promised in war. At once the Radicals began to sap his efforts. To do this they placed every impediment in his way. They have not been content to take

"From every tree, top, bark and part o' the timber,
Hacking the root that the air might drink the sap."

but, with the fury of a hurricane, they uprooted the ancestral trees which gave the sweetness and coolness of their shade to the fevered Southern people. (Cheers.) They cast these mutilated trunks in his path. These impediments were from many sources. By amendments of the Constitution, by resolutions, joint and concurrent ; by legislative devices ; by bureaus ; by attempts to curtail his powers of appointment ; by chimerical schemes as to equal rights ; by war test-oaths and penalties ; by infringing on the rights of States and communities ; by elaborate and irritative systems of force and fraud for the blacks ; by laws to enforce impossible conditions ; by engendering a wolfish lust in the land, to accomplish the atrocity of this age, and to render impossible the union of these States, for which twenty-six hundred battles had been fought, for which 325,000 soldiers had been killed, for which 400,000 soldiers had been scarred and maimed, and for which (3,000,000,000) three thousand millions of debt has been created, and five hundred millions of taxes per annum are levied ! (Applause.) To crown this capital iniquity of earth and time, the written Constitution made under the eye of the great Washington is passed through eight months of coddling. The labors of Madison, Pinckney, Sherman, Mason, and men of that giant mould, are tinkered by Stevens, Julian, Bingham, Broomall, Sumner, Stewart, and Wilson. The consummate glory of our ancestors, the conscious will of thirty millions, is thus thatched over with crudities by the "quadrimanous activity" of the zealots, whose philosophy is destruction, and whose religion is revenge. (Cheers.)

The power which these zealots obtained by sectional collisions, they had used to embroil the States. The outrages committed during the war upon the people of the North in their persons, property, and presses—outrages upon men who strove to sustain the Government and Union and to mitigate and end the war by civilized and rational methods, had made its leaders fearful of a just retribution. They cried, "Perpetuate our power ! It will never do to have North and South unite again ; for then our days are numbered ! As we grow into life by sundering the sections, so we will die if their Union be perfected !" Not so argued Andrew Johnson. (Applause.) He had received other teaching. Have we not his own resolution in the Senate, copied from the Crittenden resolution, which declared that when the Federal authority was vindicated in the States recusant the war should stop ? He wished the States to be "one" again in their old Federal bond of "many" ; yet each State to preserve its rights, dignity, and equality unimpaired. He held that no State or number of States could in any manner sever their connexion with the Federal Union. This Congress denied. It held the connexion to be sundered, and the States in secession as outside the Constitution. He held that, war having in vain attacked this connexion, it was wisdom to restore civil order and give harmony to the land where carnage had prevailed. In his proclamations as to North Carolina and other States, in his message, in his vetoes, in his speeches, the President

has held aloft the banner of the Nation. (Cheers.) The smoke raised around him by his foes cannot obscure the starry glory of its folds or the dignity and statesmanship of him who bears that ensign! (Cheers.)

Mark the difference between the conduct of the Executive and Congress. The President, by open pardon, by public proclamation, by unmistakable kindness, reiterated his published declarations on accepting the position for Vice-President. In his judgment, secession in every form, whether by policy and force from within or without the Federal Government, should be suppressed that the Union might be maintained. When the Congress met it was under secret and cautious control and with hypocritical pretences. On the 14th of December last the Senate was called to order. Its Chaplain, Rev. Mr. Gray, gave glory to God that the Republic survived; that the dissolution of war had ceased, and the ground no longer shook beneath the tread of armies; that the statue of freedom—a colored female, by the bye (laughter)—looked down from the Capitol upon mankind. And then, I think, he said that this was the acceptable year of our God!

This prayer had scarcely been uttered before Senator Wade offered a bill to allow the negroes to vote in the Union, one to maintain the freedom of the blacks; and Mr. Sumner's own bill and resolutions to make this a Republican form of Government. He said: By prescribing oaths and penalties, penalties, and Constitutional amendments! (Cries, p. 2.) A beautiful comment on this acceptable year of our God!

The House rose. It dispersed till the next day of such a prisoner. It proceeded to call the roll of the members of the States! The Republic had survived! Hark! the Clerk bellows out, "Mr. Maynard, darkened his member from Tennessee, Mr. Maynard, darkened his member, holding out his credentials from the Governor of Tennessee, the Clerk under came forward, closed his eyes to the member, and was willing to recognize the member who had, even said that he was a member of the House!" He was asked to give reasons for thus disowning a State. The roll, he said, to Mr. Brooks, "Let my record stand!" and he was asked to give his reasons; and for that set of yours, there is no remedy in the House, I would not do you injustice. History, your own name, the place, and the names which you served, blowing the bellows, while Thaddeus Stevens holds the keys of the great party organ! (Laughter and cries.) That member and member of the House, coming to the Clerk's rescue, said: "It is not necessary to give reasons; we know all!" Mr. Brooks still pressed the matter, shall we deliberate, and charged that a private caucus had arranged this partial and unbecoming legislation; but at last, being shut out, on the same arbitrary principle upon which he was afterwards shut out of the House proceeded to elect Schuyler Colfax as Speaker. Amid the hurrahs of fattening parasites in the galleries, he organized this tumultuous and revolutionary assembly—telling them, while even yet the motherings of the eleven dismembered and enslaved States were echoing in the hall, and before Mr. Maynard had folded his credentials with their seal and ribbon—that the war had melted all fetters, and that the stars on our banner which had paled in rebellion now shone with a more brilliant lustre! Eight months roll away, and the paller of these brightling stars—all except one—has gone into another eclipse under the opaque Radicalism which, to Mr. Speaker, was growing so luminous!

As if to make this absurdity more palpable, the Speaker caused at once a telegraph to be read, that the State, the *State* of Alabama had just voted for the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery! The huzzas again rang forth, and sleek ration-fed negroes from the galleries joined in the indecorous acclaim! (Laughter.) "We know it all well," said Thaddeus Stevens; for had not the caucus arranged everything? No sooner had Alabama been cheered as a State

than the caucus resolution was drawn from the pocket of Mr. Stevens. It appointed fifteen members from both the Senate and House, to stand guard over the Halls of Congress and keep back the States from representation in either House. Two-thirds voted to receive it in the House, and 133 voted for it—not one Republican voting no.—(*Globe*, p. 6.)

Thus was constituted that Junta which has usurped the functions of the House and Senate, having under the Constitution the right to judge *each for itself* of the qualifications of its members. The record shows how this Junta, which was afterwards confirmed by the Senate, kept their vigils till the last hours of the session, when Tennessee was suddenly jerked in, with a rope round her neck, in degradation and shame. It mattered not whether the members elect were loyal; whether they had spilt their blood for the flag. It was enough that they were sent from States against which the hate of Radicalism had become inveterate.

The House having been without the unction of prayer on its first day, and feeling its necessity, (laughter) proceeded on its second day to elect a Chaplain. Ten fighting gospellers were at once nominated; all anxious to interlace their orizons with suggestions to the Deity about regulating human affairs, and lectures to the House about reconstructing the negro race. (Laughter.) Most of the ten were urged because they had worn the mail over the caesock, had smelt gunpowder, and were regular devils in the way of fighting, and good at fighting devils; thus fitting them for the duty of prayer to the Prince of Peace! Surely now the House is baptized in the spirit of fraternity! Accordingly, on the day following, the Chaplain elect thanks God for a united country: (laughter) that there is not one star missing; that the wounds are healing; that there is no slave, master, nor chain in the whole country. This in the face of the House which had erected an obelisk of fifteen to fifteen eleven conquered States! Such hypocrisy is only equalled by its audacity! (Cheers.) For it was but a few days after this that a Senator from Michigan, while in debate, (p. 24) declared that "these States were conquered communities—communities in which the right of self-government does not exist." (*Globe*, p. 24.) He demanded that there should be a declaration by the Executive that hostilities had ceased before he would recognize them as States. But, when the proclamation was made on the 21 of April last, he still held that these States were in Provincial bondage! The war, it seems, had not melted the fitters, and the stars were not all on the flag!

When this unprecedented legislation came before the Senate on the 12th of December, 1865, Senators Cowan and Phillips protested against this veto, by one branch of Congress, through this Committee of Fifteen, upon the action of the other in its disregard to the admission of members. But their protests were unheeded. That Committee kicked the doors of Congress in the face of approaching States, not once or twice, but continually through the largest part of the year past. This, the record I produce, will show. When Mississippi appeared with the credentials of Senators Alcorn and Sharkey, they were laid on the table preparatory to being swallowed like all the rest by the Directory. (*Globe*, p. 7.) When again, on the 12th of December, Mr. Raymond presented the credentials of the Tennessee members, Mr. Stevens waved him to the Committee which he had too freely helped to erect. Said Mr. Stephens: "The State of Tennessee is not known to this House, nor to Congress." By a vote of 132 Republicans to 25, Tennessee was committed to the Morgue for some eight months before her friends recognized her as the old familiar State of Jackson and Johnson.

On the 13th of December, 1865, Mr. Guthrie made an attempt to bring in the Louisiana Senators, but it was foiled by Mr. Grimes. On the 14th, Mr. Wilson, in the House, offered a resolution sending all the papers he could into

the grave dug by the caucus for the States. A Republican Member, Mr. Davis, with great simplicity, inquired whether it was in order to pass a resolution like that from the Committee of Fifteen, in conflict with the Constitution. (Laughter.) This *naïveté* produced an outburst of Radical laughter; and it seemed by the vote that followed, that it was considered in order to abolish the Constitution. The Directory were sustained—107 to 56. Again, on the 18th, Clay Smith presented a loyal soldier, with his credentials from Arkansas, for admission. He found himself quickly, with his friend, in “the cold obstruction of the grave,” and earth piled upon him until his utterance was choked by the previous question. (*Globe*, p. 68.)

After three days, to wit, on the 21st of December, the hand of resurrection seemed to be at work, scraping away the inhospitable earth. (Laughter.) Clay Smith reaches from the sepulchre, with skinny fingers, shakes the “great seal of the State of Arkansas” (page 116) in the face of the House, and “begs the poor boon for his friend, Colonel Johnson, member elect, of being recognized as a gentleman—(laughter)—and a claimant by sitting on the floor!” Even this grace was denied him, and Clay became again with his friend of the earth, earthy. This recognition of gentility under such plausible introduction was withheld! Nothing discomfited, the member from Kentucky attempts to withdraw Tennessee from the Directory and send her to the more sprightly Committee on Elections (page 116): but a shovel full of gravel from the inflexible sexton, Thaddeus Stevens, settled this spasmodic effort. He subsided until the 18th of February, 1866, (page 812,) when he again makes a post-mortem attempt; but seventy-eight Radicals, with an energy which would have made an impression upon a corn-field, or a canal, united their shovels, and raised a mound over his perturbed spirit. (Laughter.) Singular spectacle! Dead and not dead; alive and yet not alive; entombed, yet ever restless! What absurdities! Consider! On the 13th of May, 1862, West Virginia was admitted, in pursuance of a clause of the Constitution, which required that the Legislature of the State of Virginia should give its consent: yet, when Virginia comes to be represented, she is not a State! Andrew Johnson, proclaimed Vice President, from the State of Tennessee, by Vice President Hamlin, on the 18th of February, 1865, when President, let it be from no State in the Union! By the law of 1862, all these dead States are taxed as States by a direct tax! By the decision of the United States Courts, first, in the case of the *Cassia*, from Florida; and secondly, in *Harvey vs. Tyler*, from Virginia, by Justice Miller, these States were held to be vital in every part. By the speeches and proclamations of President Lincoln, by his appointment to federal offices in these States, the fallacy of their death by suicide is scouted. Surely these jackals wish to consider their prey dead, that they may fatten on them, to whet and gorge their appetite for power and plunder. (Cheers.) Dead for representation, but alive for taxes! (Cheers.) Dead for a President, but alive for a Vice President! Alive for dividing old Virginia, but dead, when Virginia is a link in the cordon of the Union! Alive to walk outside the Capitol, but dead when they ask to be admitted to its equal honors! So it goes on to the end of the session. But at last Radicalism grew anxious about an exposition of these incongruities. The people are not satisfied. Even some Republicans grew anxious. I find Mr. Davis, of New York, introducing a bill, making it a penal offence to create Jacobin clubs to control Congress. (471.) On the 18th of December, 1865, Mr. Stevens propounded in a speech his proposition for the government of the conquered provinces, as he styled them. (74.) Congress, he held, was sovereign, and it was time she “should assert something of the dignity of a Roman Senate.” (Laughter.) Denying that this was a white man’s government, as political blasphemy, he preferred that the slaves should have been left in bondage, rather than be free without suffrage. “A white man’s government,” he ex-

claimed, "is as atrocious as the infamous sentiments that damned the late Chief Justice to everlasting fame, if not to everlasting fire." This exposition seemed a poor excuse for excluding States reclaimed from secession by blood.

On the 19th of December, 1865, this "Roman Senate" were compelled to listen to a message from the President and General Grant (*Globe* 78,) in which they were informed of the restoration of the Federal authority and the obedience of the people in the Southern States with willingness and promptitude; the anxiety of the people there to resume peaceful pursuits, and that sectional animosity was resolving itself into a spirit of nationality. The President confirmed General Grant's statement, that representation would result in a harmonious restoration. This was not palatable to Congress; and the Committee of Fifteen went to work to obtain counter testimony from the Covodes, Shurtzes, and other morbid people whose impressions were colored by their politics, and whose politics were regulated by their pockets and spite. Mr. Sumner denounced the message as a white-washing affair, and on the 20th dragged from his repertoire all the accumulations of months written him by the bureau-crats, cotton-stealers, and other agents, who were disgusted with the Southern people for desiring to be friendly to the Union. Mr. Sumner pretended not to speak in "anger, vindictiveness, or harshness;" oh, no; but "solemnly and carefully, that peace and reconciliation should prevail." Thus do words mock deeds. Mr. Stevens pretended to no such Joseph Surface sentiments, when on the same day in the House (page 100) he introduced his bill to wreak out of the desolated South double pensions for soldiers and pay for damages done to his iron forges and property of other Northern loyalists. His was no sweet Christian appeal. (Laughter.) It proposed to take only five hundred millions of what was left of the South, for the above purposes, and the remnant left to desolated hearths and homes he proposed to apply to the national debt of the conqueror! In opposing the confiscation bill in Congress I showed that the property of Ireland had changed under the yoke since of English confiscation eleven times; but this was through several hundred years of oppression. Mr. Steven propose yokes of iron where Cromwell only proposed yokes of wood. He never brought his proposition to a vote; but I believe that had he enforced it by his satanic rhetoric, he might have obtained in that House a majority of human tigers on the eyes and noses. (Cheers.) After these exhibitions, do not be surprised to find other sextons at work digging other graves for others of the Southern States. On the 11th of January, 1865 (*Globe*, 193,) South Carolina was buried; on the 15th (233,) Arkansas; on the next day, Florida (312;) soon after, North Carolina (661;) on the 7th of February (714,) Alabama, with a few more shovels full of dirt thrown in on the 12th (800); another effort on Arkansas on the 26th of February (1025,) on motion by Senator Lane, of Kansas; a few days after, North Carolina was doubly buried (1083) in that cemetery for all—the Committee of Fifteen. On the 4th of June the State of Mississippi was entombed (2949) in the same sweet spot, and on the 1st of March (1131) Louisiana also, in the person of Senator Boyce. Meanwhile the Directory, which "carried at its girdle the keys of the Union," began to be cajoled by some Tennessee patriots of the Brownlow pattern, eager for admission. On the 5th of March (1189) Mr. Bingham reported a bill declaring Tennessee a State, on equal footing with other States, on condition, however, that her people would never do certain things which the Fifteen immaculates thought bad. There was an explosion on this, and the bill was shelved. It laid upon the shelf sleeping, sweetly embalmed in the frankincense of Republican sympathy until the 20th, when Mr. Raymond asked Mr. Bingham gently, when he proposed to lead her in, as he would like to be there to see. He received for reply: "Next week, if it was the pleasure of the House." On the next day a member offered to insert a little gunpowder under the committee (1553) to blow them open upon Tennessee;

but that stern statesman, Hon. J. M. Ashley "poured on water," and the fuse failed. (Laughter.)

Another attempt was made to discharge the Committee (2119,) but the discharge did not "go off." The Speaker ruled the resolution out of order, and Tennessee still remained in the crypt of the Capitol. Mr. Ross, of Illinois, on the 28th of May, attempted to lift Mr. Maynard in by main force, but what was this "man of Ross" to fifteen men! He, too, failed, and the skeleton again dropped into its sepulchre. (Laughter.) (2859.)

It was not until the 19th of July that the joint resolution admitting Tennessee came before the House. It no sooner appeared, lack-lustre and shadowy, than Mr. Stevens endeavored to table it for dissection. He only got thirty-one votes against ninety-two; but soon after, he increased his strength to forty-nine, when Mr. Bingham, who still had charge of it, reported a fresh resolution, superfluous and void as a resolution and with a lie as its preamble. The preamble recited that Tennessee had ratified the constitutional amendment of this session, and the resolution pretended to restore her to those relations which she had never forfeited by a void secession ordinance; yet the House voted the preamble 87 to 48 (3973,) in spite of the protest of the truthful men of the House. The resolution was passed with the preamble (3980,) and the Senate afterwards modifying both (4006,) Tennessee, by the action of both houses, became by some wonderful magical magic a State, and members elected more than a year before were graciously admitted to their seats. They were ushered in under the garb of a true patriot falsehood, and this, too, by the party which Senator Wilson declared (*Globe*, p. 311) "planted itself on the rock of ages, and had all the men or goddess men of the universe to sustain it." (Cheers and laughter.) Then followed the general law that when any State should adopt the amendments of the Constitution as to civil rights, basis of representation, intelligibility of laws, and the public debt, and should modify their State laws to suit these new conditions, their members, after taking the odious test-oath, might be admitted. This bill, however, was killed—191 to 35. Thus, no conditions for the admission of States in the form of a bill, not even the atrocious ones proposed, were adopted (3981.) So that after eight months of patient incubation the only egg laid, over which there was so much cackling, is this Tennessee *fiasco*. The whole question remains as open as it was in December, 1865, when Mr. Speaker saw all the stars, only a little paler by rebellion, growing brighter, and the Chaplains thanked God for the acceptable year of a thoroughly renovated Republic!

But in what regard was Tennessee entitled to this pretentious preference? True, she had been organized under President Lincoln and Military Governor Andrew Johnson. She had a Governor—a Reverend Bobadil—called Brownlow, elected on the 11th of March, 1865. On the 5th of June, 1865, she had passed a franchise act, with white shining all through it, and black nowhere, and had disfranchised her rebel population. Her legislative acts were, however, recognized; but no more so than those of Arkansas. The Arkansas Government had been reorganized, and the State formally restored October 30, 1865. In Louisiana, Governor Wells had been elected in November, 1865. That State was fully launched under her own Legislature. Virginia was in the same condition. North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and even Texas, had substantially complied with the conditions exacted. They had abolished slavery by accepting the amendment. Most of them had repudiated the rebel debt; had allowed negroes the right to testify and sue; repealed their secession ordinances; and had, in one way or another, with great kindness to the negro, endeavored to reconcile his new condition and their disordered industry with the established order. In reviewing the peculiar acts of these States, not at all essential to their existence or recognition as States, I

challenge any one to show, in the history of nations or of wars, conduct more acquiescent and magnanimous. (Cheers.) They had complied—not in the haste of hypocrisy, but in earnestness and sincerity—with the orders of the President. When, therefore, on the 2d of April, 1866, the President proclaimed secession overthrown, the national unity maintained, the war ended, and its incidents of military occupation, military law, military tribunals, and suspension of the *habeas corpus* ended with the war, he justly planted his proclamation on the fundamental principle of humanity and freedom, that they should be dealt with so as to induce them voluntarily to become friends. (Applause.) Hence he declared them “constituent communities under the Constitution: States of equal immunities, dignity and power, and not territories, dependencies, powers, or protectorates.” Every department had been authorized thus to regard them. When Congress met, the President in his message implored the House and Senate, each for itself, to complete the good work by the admission of Representatives.

After eight months we have their answer in the still incomplete structure. To perpetuate this condition they have sent to the States their amendment to the Constitution as a sort of condition precedent to their admission. But they take no steps to have it adopted. It is a politician's trick. What does it propose? First, that the equal rights of the negroes should be guarded—as if they had not already exhausted their feeble ingenuity on that measure by their Civil Rights Bill. Second, the basis of representation should be changed to suit the needs of the Republican party. Since the slaves are now freed they count one each, instead of three-fifths of one, in the ratio for Congressmen. The Republicans have produced this very dilemma out of which they now wish to flounder. But they are making a great noise about a very little matter. Even if the amendment is not adopted, the basis of representation remains on a three-fifths basis until the next census of 1870 or 1872. But, since every free negro counts one in the North, why should he not count one in the South? Is he not a man and a brother? (Laughter.) The voters may be less in proportion to the non-voters, but that is the business of the States and not of Congress. If California chooses to make voters out of coolies, she can do so; but the coolies, whether voters or not, are counted in the basis of representation. Moreover, one-fifth of the slaves have been destroyed by the war. The gain of Congressmen to the South by the freedom of the slaves is only six. They would get at the next census twenty-six instead of twenty, which they now have. For these six, the Constitution must be reformed at a time when the States most concerned are not consulted, and the amendments are to be voted on by States not in the Union! The third amendment is to degrade those who have served in the rebellion at the South from all office, and to fix this disgrace indelibly upon their leading men forever, by way of pleasing them with the Constitution under which they must live, if at all, as equals. The last amendment is in respect to the rebel debt; it is nothing but the demagogue's device to frighten feeble minds in the North. No sane man believes that debt will ever be paid, or attempted to be paid.

Such a series of amendments might well call for a veto from a President who desires to have the States grow in peace about a common home, and blossom and fructify into fraternity and allegiance. (Cheers.) The amendments are a scheme to keep out the States. It is well known that they will not be adopted. But there had to be something, if only a bottomless tub, thrown out to the Republican leviathan, if only to enable him to “spout” in the waters which he agitates. It is a sign that the Presidential harpoon has struck the blubber. (Laughter.)

After swearing in the Members and Senators from Tennessee, ten States remained entombed. Thus the round of absurdity was run. The State of Tennessee was allowed her “practical relations” to the Union, although by Repub-

lican theory she was but a dead carcass like the other ten. Yet, even at last, Thaddeus Stevens voted to bring in this carcass. He might have found a precedent for the orgies of this occasion in the history of one of the Stuarts. In the dissoluteness which made the reign of the second Charles so ignominious, a dead child was found in the palace—it was the offspring of some maid of honor, by some courtier, perhaps by Charles himself. The whole flight of panders and buffoons pounce upon it, carry it in triumph to the royal laboratory, where his majesty, after a brutal jest, dissects it for the amusement of the assembly, probably its own father among the rest. So this State, dead according to the heresy begotten of Sumner and Stevens, after lying about the Capitol for months, is seized upon by the ribald Radicals, and, after a brutal telegraphic jest from its own Governor Brownlow, is dissected under the knife of Thaddeus Stevens for the amusement of this Revolutionary Assembly. This, too, after Stevens and his Directory of Fifteen had reported “that the States lately in rebellion were, at the close of the war, disorganized communities, without civil government, and without constitutions or other forms by virtue of which political relations could loyally exist between them and the Federal Government,” and that Congress could not recognize their claims to representation. In the face of this report, and in defiance of the resolution of Congress, these “Roman Senators” enacted for party purposes the cruel jest of dragging in the dead Tennessee, rigidly excluding the rest of the Southern States. They had declared, in the words of my old antagonist, Mr. Shellabarger, that unless they got irreversible guarantees they would exclude all these States and make them dependencies forever.”—(Page 111.) Well, Mr. Stevens, disgusted with their performance in respect to that State, endeavored at first to defeat it: for he had at least the logic to perceive the mist into which his party were steering by admitting Tennessee to the exclusion of the other States. Tabbell’s fog trumpet, in the hands of the Arch Trumpeter of Sedition, might have saved this Congress from this absurdity. Well might Mr. Stevens call on his satellites to be “Roman Senators.” They might all have taken a lesson or two from that august Senate. Imagine Cato, crying to his Spanish clients: “To hell with conscience!” (Laughter.) Imagine Cicero, while smothering the wounds of the State by conciliation, avowing, like Chandler, of Michigan, (p. 885) amid the applause of negroes in the gallery, that he still adhered to his blood-letting letter after such terrible bloodshed as we have had. Imagine Marcellus, like Sumner, whetting the appetite of the rabble by reciting whole tomes in honor of a Pagan Nemesis, or even the Imperial Julia Cæsar, who, when his legions conquered provinces by arms, held them by Roman arts, law, and citizenship, consigning the vanquished “to the pædagogium or hell, guarded by boons”—(p. 2545.) What enabled Rome to triumph for a thousand years amid the severe trials of civil war and the great perils of foreign conquest? What enabled her, even when corrupt through spoils, torn by factions, threatened by Gauls, Germans, and Parthians, and ruled by Consuls who shook the world for their personal ambition, to rise superior to all enemies, enduring and grand? (Cheers.) It was because “the name of the people was always associated with the decrees of the Senate.” These decrees as isolated to himself all peoples which he subdued, not by subduing them at once to the same laws and the same rule, but by adopting them all into the great Roman family. Municipia of different degrees, various colonies, towns allied and free, all isolated like our States by the difference of their condition, were united by their equal dependence on the central power. This is the record which Napoleon (Life of Cæsar, i. 65) gives, and which made the Roman Senator the model legislator, and Rome the mistress of the nations. The Roman Senator, invoked by Thaddeus Stevens, had the generosity to reconcile the troubles of the State, and “thought more of his honor than of vengeance, however just.” When Rome forgot this policy and dragged the despoiled provinces through her streets, then her decline and fall began.

Such anachronisms, as I have supposed, are as absurd as the similitude of this Congress to the Roman Senate. Instead of elevating the States to their proper niches in the National Pantheon, these American Senators seek only to degrade them.

A Senator from Wisconsin likened the South to the dead Lazarus, only to be brought to life by Divine power. He said: "I know they have lain in the grave these four years, and smell worse than Lazarus," (*Globe* 165.) But the simile was as incorrect as it was irreverent. A gesture from the hand of statesmanship is all that is required. (Cheers.) No Radical miracle is needed. Ah! it was not that the States were suspended or dead; but it was the fear that they might, when restored, exercise their vital functions of voting for their own government. Said that Senator: "Do Senators comprehend what consequences result from restoring the functions of those States? It will add fifty-eight members to the House, more than one-fourth of its present number. It will add twenty-two members to the Senate, nearly one-half of its present number." It adds also about eighty votes to the Electoral College. It was the fear of future party defeat which startled Radical Senators, and sent them to the sepulchres of Judas and the miracles of our Saviour for their illustrations. The outrage of sacrificing to a party the interests of ten millions of people, who are unrepresented, whilst every relation they bear to life is at stake, has no parallel. Well might the Senator from Mississippi complain that Congress taxed his State on a valuation of thirteen millions (her cotton crop) without her consent. The value of representation to agriculture and commerce, threatened by the corrupt tariffs of the Congress, can only be estimated in the hundreds of millions filched from industry to foster and protect capital in its aggrandizement. Representation would save these exactions of greed and power.

The spirit of this Congress is not to be diverted by following their course with respect to the exclusion of Tennessee and other States. It is as well seen in what they attempted and failed to do by their own impotency and incoherences.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

The attempt, from time to time, to exclude the States until they should adopt negro suffrage, is an illustration. True, they failed, but it was from no want of will among the majority. I do not refer to this subject now to argue the right of the blacks to suffrage. Whether it is a God-given right, or earned in war; whether it is wise to allow millions of blacks just freed, to help to govern this land, or whether it is a question of whose skulls are the hardest in a scuffle at the ballot-box—(cheers and laughter)—I do not propose to discuss. I give facts. When Mr. Noel, of Missouri, (*Globe* 29) offered a resolution that members should not be excluded because negroes as a class were excluded as voters for said members, the vote was then cleverly dodged, but was afterwards pressed (pp. 25, 27) when 86 against 39 refused to deny to Congress the right to make voters in the States; even though the Constitution, unmistakably in the second section of article I, fixed that right in the States. Again when, Mr. Thornton (p. 70) proposed that the States alone could decide the conditions of the elective franchise, it was voted down—111 to 46. When, at the end of the session, Mr. Sumner offered his resolution to exclude Nebraska as a State till negro suffrage was permitted, it received but four Radical votes. This was placarded by Conservatives as a renunciation of their doctrine of equality in suffrage and congressional power over it. But it was not so. The record shows it to be otherwise. A Vermont Senator (p. 7) began this species of legislation by a resolution that no reconstruction should be had, except equal rights, without respect to color, including the elective franchise, were allowed. Resolutions to make all equal before the law were offered by Stevens (p. 10), Bingham (p. 14,) and Farnsworth (page 15,) which were intended, like the first of the recent amendments, to open the way for negro suffrage. Mr. Julian (p. 2429) offered a reso-

lution, declaring that suffrage should not be abridged on account of color in the Territories or in new States. The attempt to stifle this resolution received only twenty-nine votes against seventy-six! When, afterwards, in the Senate, Mr. Wade offered a general Territorial bill of the same tenor (3176,) it was received with favor. But the District of Columbia, which has been called the negroes' paradise, was the field for these efforts. Kelley, Julian, and Spalding, each presented laws to allow the negro suffrage there. A vote was had and a bill actually passed in the House, 116 to 54 (p. 310,) amid the cheers of a black mob in the gallery! This was done in defiance of the vote in the District of Columbia, certified to Congress by Mayer Wallach, which showed, on a large poll, 6,591 against, and only 35 for the measure! It came near passing the Senate, (3134) the most Radical proposition of Senator Morrill being lost by only four minority. It was then dropped amid the confusion of closing the session.

I said that some 2,000 pages of the *Globe* was taken up with discussions exclusively about the negro. Perhaps one-third of this number was in reference to suffrage in the District, and the remainder on Freedmen's Bureaus and negro representation. So great was the Radical devotion to the negroes, that on a question of precedence raised by Mr. Le Blonde, between them and our suffering finances, the negroes gained it by thirty-one majority! (1458.)

On the question of negro representation in Congress, the resolutions of the Radicals began early and kept up until they culminated in the amendment to which I have alluded. General Schenck (*Globe*, 9) offered the first in the series, apportioning Representatives according to the voters; Mr. Pike followed (p. 135,) Mr. Blaine next (p. 136,) then Mr. Orth (p. 235,) Mr. Stevens and Mr. Broomall, until the sky was dark with fluttering flocks of amendments. They were all caught and sent to the Committee of Fifteen:

"Four and twenty blackbirds baked in a pie,
When the pie was opened,
The birds began to sing;
Was'n't that a pretty dish
To set before the king!" (Laughter.)

But King Caucus digested them, and from its report we have a new amendment to the Constitution. At first, the basis began on voters, when it was found out by a calculating New Englander that Vermont, for instance, had more people and less voters than California: but each had three members!

Vermont had of people	-	-	-	-	358,110
California do.	-	-	-	-	314,339
Vermont had of voters but	-	-	-	-	87,000
While California had	-	-	-	-	207,000

So that while California would get eight members, Vermont would only keep her three! This was a pretty dish. So that New England was not so ready to swap off her women and children, lunatics, &c., for freedmen, in the exclusion of all except voters from the basis! She was willing to lose her codfish bounties, provided she got salt for them free. (Laughter.) She was willing to see madder introduced for agricultural growth, by the Government, free! (*Globe*, p. 731.) She was willing to favor a coinage of five cent pieces and make them a tender to the amount of a dollar. (Laughter.) She was willing to abolish liquor from the Capitol, and make various other sacrifices, but never would she trade off her women and children, counted in the ratio, for the satisfaction of depriving the South of six Congressmen on the new basis!

At length New England succeeded, and the amendment took its present form, that all persons should be counted, but no males over age deprived of voting by reason of color! This is the meaning of it. It is a menace to the South: "If you don't allow negroes to vote they shall not be counted in the basis of representation. Minors, women, lunatics, convicts—non-voters—and negro voters shall be counted, but negroes without suffrage, never. Agree to this basis, or

stay out?" Now, I am not prepared to say but that something should be done to reform the basis, but I am prepared to say that I do not approve of any plan which changes the organic law while a third of the States to be affected by it are kept aloof from the Congress which proposes the amendment by a threat of Federal disfranchisement, nor any plan which takes any other basis than the whole population. (Cheers.)

DISUNION LEGISLATION.

Under this head I might arrange resolutions and bills already referred to, and many others which President Johnson in his last veto called "class legislation" (p. 3839.) Such were the Freedmen's Bureau bills vetoed by the President (p. 3562) — bills to suck \$5,000,000 to \$10,000,000 per annum from the Treasury to enrich clergymen who are speculators in plantations, and petty satraps with unearned epaulettes who strut their brief hours in the Southern States, making law of their whims and patriotism of their speculations. (Cheers.) Such, too, was the Civil Rights Bill, which had its inception in the doctrine of making all equal before the law: which sought to introduce a new system of judicature into the States whose functions were usurped and whose rights were annulled. This was promptly vetoed (p. 1858) though afterwards passed. Such was the series of resolutions offered by Mr. Orth (p. 889,) Mr. Baker (p. 1150,) and others, that no office of trust should be held by rebels, which culminated in one of the recent amendments. — Such was the resolution of Mr. Broomall that the recusant States could not vote to amend the Constitution (p. 919,) although the amendments concerned them most; the resolution of Mr. Longyear for the military occupation of the South, which was passed—117 to 25 (p. 14); the proposition of Senator Howe (162) creating local governments by Congress for the States; Senator Stewart's universal amnesty for universal suffrage—a panacea but in name (1437); the resolution of Mr. Williams against withdrawing the military forces, thus usurping the duties of the Executive and Commander-in-Chief, which passed—94 to 37 (137); the bill of Mr. Wilson to amend State laws and protect freedmen (39); the resolution of Mr. Hill to preserve the odious test oaths (71); the enabling act of Mr. Ashley for admission of dead States, under odious and degrading conditions, and the crushing out of the resolutions of Senator Davis to restore civil authority and the *habeas corpus*, on the cessation of war (23).

All these measures indicate the ruling spirit of this Congress. It was so determined to perpetuate its over and over again the President, that classes like Col. rule were admitted which only cast 5,905 votes, not a third of an ordinary Congressional district. This, too, was happily vetoed (2609.) Nebraska was half in, but smothered by the jobs of the last few days of the session. All this legislation tended to aggrandise the Federal power, and to lodge it in the Congress. Of a piece with it was the attempt to create a Bureau of Education—"to enforce education, without regard to race and color, on the population of all such States as shall fall below a standard to be established by Congress"—(laughter,—actually proposed by Mr. Donnelly (60), and adopted by 113 to 37, but afterwards voted down by two majority (1451).) A Congress which could entertain such a system might well listen to the proposition of some religious zealots to change the present grand preamble of the Constitution to contain it with religious intolerance, (3683,) or adapt it to the Babylonian idolatry of Missouri. Judging by what Congresses did, would it mean that it would give legislative life to every crazy catcher of which our churches and churches are full? I wonder what standard of education and religious instruction of these several forces founded on the spirit of agency would be established? Would it be the rule of three, or the Imperial Calendar? Would it be a knowledge of Meier's Goose's Melodias, or Kant's Pure Reason? Would it take the Arianism or Calvinistic faith? Would it "jog" the Jews and cut the Catholics; or would it hold to

the transcendental theory that the Saviour was a man like Socrates or Shakespeare, and, like its type, the revolutionary party in France, enthroned the Goddess of Reason in the person of a courtesan!

OTHER LEGISLATIVE SCHEMES.

Not less absurd, but more unjust, was the legislation which led to the squandering of the public domain without stint to corporations without souls (cheers;) the squandering of money on Freedmen's Bureaus and on themselves; on trips to the Russian empire in a vessel of war (2368) in which \$200,000 is rifled from the people—to congratulate the Czar, and show to maritime powers the secrets of our iron-clads; the publication of an official history of the rebellion, to be written with a New England pen dipped in gall; the preferment of Montana companies in the settlement of the valuable lands of the mining districts of the West—a monopoly vetoed twice by the President.

Need I recall the attempt to violate custom and the Constitution in the effort made to abridge the President's right of appointment; the attempt to reassemble by the edict of the presiding officers when the party demanded it; its assailing a foreign minister for writing a patriotic letter by the withdrawal of his salary; its demagogue appeals for the Fenian vote under the pretence of repealing the neutrality law, which they conveniently smothered in the Senate Committee (cheers;) its unparalleled partiality to a pet class in taxation; and, finally, its attempt, as revealed by Mr. Raymond, to precipitate a civil war, by providing in a resolution of General Paine, of Wisconsin, for the distribution of arms of the Government among the States where they were in the ascendant, and the desire, as revealed by Mr. Boatwell, in the caucus, to remain in session to help the Radical Black and White insurrectionists of New Orleans to overturn in blood the existing State Government! (Cheers.)

In speaking of the contrasts of the time of Charles II., Macaulay says that Atheist-turned Puritans, and Puritans Atheists; Republicans defended the divine right of Kings, and Courtiers clamored for the liberties of the people; Judges inflamed the rage of mobs, and Patriots pocketed bribes; but what pen so graphic as to describe the grotesque transformation of this Thirty-ninth Congress? Professing economy, they practiced profligacy; calling themselves Union, they foment distraction; screaming for Liberty to the Black, they forge fetters for the White; holding eleven States in thrall, they release one, but do it in dishonor; challenging the Constitutional Veto of a fearless President, they veto the exclusive rights of one House by a resolution of both; glorying in being the champions of the war, they cheat the people out of its results; introducing bills to annex Canada to the Union before she asks for it, they labor to keep out our own States who crave to come in! Oh! for a Macaulay to illustrate the fickle weakness and wilful wickedness of this medley of mediocrities! (Applause.) Yet this same Congress, so full of schemes for private aggrandizement and jobs of colossal proportions, could at one blow strike from the tonnage of this country 800,000 tons which sought restoration for their American registers, lost through the failure of the Government to protect this shipping on the high seas (134.) This blow, aimed at New York, was passed in the House by 92 to 52.

FINANCES.

What has been done to assist the finances or develop the mines and commerce of the nation? What has been done to carry out the earliest appeals of the Secretary of the Treasury? With a paper currency, amounting on the 28th of June last to \$917,014,769—which Mr. Merrill considered alarming to the last degree—what has been done? Nothing. Nothing to contract its amount and place trade on a healthy foundation. The attempt to do so failed (1431,) either from lack of ability to comprehend the question, or the overruling negro and di-union legislation prevalent in the Congress. Before this Alp of paper money—a mountain of lampblack and paper, nearly a thousand millions of irredeemable issues, including all prices and disordering all calculations, full of impending dangers—this Congress stood stupid, fearful, and mute. The avalanche impending over our heads, the glacier grinding away our industry, they looked at in blank amazement, utterly unable to grasp the problem, or too cowardly to suffer a present inconvenience to prevent a future catastrophe!

But these and many more derelictions could be forgotten and forgiven, had this Congress arrested the Executive to restore business, contentment, and Union. But they failed, and but one reason do they give for that failure. The masses of the South were guilty of treason! But who pretends to arraign a whole people? Supposing the leaders do deserve it, do the masses? If Horace Greeley writes the truth in his "Conflict," there is rank injustice, added to political foolishness, in withholding from

the Southern people the blessings of Union, which, he says, they never voluntarily surrendered. In his twenty-second chapter, page 351, he says :

"The Slave States and Districts which had not united in the movement were as follows :

States.	Free population in 1860.	Slaves.	Total.
Arkansas.....	324,327	111,164	435,491
Delaware.....	110,429	1,798	112,227
Kentucky.....	930,233	225,490	1,155,723
Maryland.....	599,846	87,188	687,034
Missouri.....	1,067,352	114,969	1,182,321
North Carolina.....	661,586	331,681	993,267
Tennessee.....	834,663	271,784	1,106,447
Virginia.....	1,105,192	480,887	1,586,079
District of Columbia.....	71,896	3,181	75,076
Total.....	5,704,000	1,341,478	7,045,478

"So that, after the conspiracy had had complete possession of the Southern mind for three months, with the Southern members of the Cabinet, nearly all of the Federal officers, most of the governors and other State functionaries, and seven-eighths of the prominent and active politicians, pressing it on, and no force exerted against nor in any manner threatening to resist it, a majority of the Slave States, with two-thirds of the free population of the entire slaveholding region, were openly and positively adverse to it—either because they regarded the alleged grievances of the South as exaggerated if not unreal, or because they believed that those wrongs would rather be aggravated than cured by disunion."

So that more than five and a half millions are to be punished for the fault, mistakes, or crimes of the two millions. It is too monstrous for human conception. [Cheers.] Such vengeance is neither sanctioned by history, or Heaven. [Cheers.]

CONCLUSION.

Thus, in conclusion, I return to the overmastering problem for the people to solve. Shall Congress lead these Southern States through the indefinite future captive, to make an Abolition holiday; or shall another Congress, aiding the President, enlarge them in the liberty of independent and self-reliant statehood?

The historian of Rome draws something from his imagination when he pictures the proud Queen of Palmyra, Zenobia, arrayed in purple, yet loaded with golden chains to aggrandize the processions in honor of the conqueror of Asia. It needs no imagination to picture the fate of ten States, not of foreign origin, but of one blood, language, and history and religion, following with downcast eye the triumphant chariot of congressional power! States whose area is over 725,000 square miles; larger than England, France, Spain, Portugal, and all Germany; having a population of 10,000,000; whose annual product from a little pod is greater than the wealth which the Roman bore in his stately galleys to Rome from the garden and jeweled Orient! (Cheers.) Virginia, too proud, perhaps, but with such a grandeur of great names on her rolls; the Carolinas, weary of their waywardness, but still the home of the Pinckneys, who gave the Constitution to America, and of those who at Monckenberg anticipated the Declaration, which at Kings Mountain was consummated in our Independence; Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, whose feet are kissed by the waters of a thousand rivers, which, rolling through the valley of the Mississippi, gather their volumes of wealth from Minnesota to Louisiana—these are the subject States led in fetters at the ear of this Imperial Congress. (Cheers.) Such exhibitions dishonored the greatness of even Pagan Rome; they would not be tolerated by ambitious France, which takes Venetia as a gift from the Kaiser only to set it as a jewel in the crown of a United Italy. (Cheers.) It might find its counterpart in the great land-animal of the North—Russia—in whose embrace prostrate Poland groans. Forgetting her own grasp of Ireland, England assumes to be horrified at the spectacle. Even in Turkey, the policy of strangling brothers by the Sultan no longer makes the traveller shudder as he crosses the Bosphorus. But for this Christian land of America, the people do not ask such a mockery of triumph and such a degradation of power. (Cheers.) They will write the epitaph of the Congress which proposes it in letters of fire: "Here lies the fragment of the Thirty-ninth American Congress, which, starting with a furtive conspiracy against the President, with opportunities never before vouchsafed for blessing, postponed Union; and putting the Nation in peril of another civil war, it died under the just indignation of an aroused people, and is damned to an immortality of infamy!" (Cheers.)

The above address was repeatedly punctuated by hearty and enthusiastic applause and laughter. The meeting then adjourned with loud cheers for the President, Mr. Fox, and the Union of the States.







